

The Bloody 30th of June in Germany

ON JUNE 30 Hitler realized his "People's Commonalty". He caused his closest comrades and veterans to be executed. On June 30 he let loose civil war in the most brutal, bestial and treacherous fashion against his own mass organizations. He also gave an example of national-socialist "comradeship" by letting loose one section of his party to crush and slaughter the other. He carried the national-socialist principle of "loyalty for loyalty" to its logical end in the spirit of real "front-line patriotism" by causing Roehm, Heines, Ernst and the other leaders of the Brown Storm Troops (S.A.) to be killed by his own black-uniformed Special Guards (S.S.)

The "Leader principle" was also realized. The subordinate leaders wanted to overthrow their "Leader", and the "Leader" reviled and besmirched even the dead bodies of his old comrades and fighters, the same men who had been put forward as a shining example to the youth as veteran fighters and "supermen". On June 30 Hitler proved the correctness of the national-socialist race theories. Indeed, only amongst the "supermen", only amongst the representatives of the highest "Nordic-Aryan race" could such Sodom and Gomorrah scenes have taken place, such orgies, such gluttony, such perversion, such robbery and such embezzlement of public funds.

On June 30 Hitler also demonstrated to the full the national-socialist idea of "honor". He used provocation, lies and fraud against his own comrades and friends, and he handed them over to the execution squads to be shot down like mad dogs. The "People's Commonalty", honor, loyalty, comradeship, front-line patriotism, heroism, supermen, the purity of public life, the family sense—all these ideals of fascism were revealed in their true colors. And after an orgy of treachery, meanness, lies, bestiality and pervert sadism he presented himself as the "Savior of the Nation", receiving declarations of loyalty, bows from the bishops, praise from the generals, congratulations from the leaders of industry, and oaths of obedience and submission from those leaders of the Brown Storm Troops he did not have executed.

Only a class doomed to death, only a social order doomed to destruction can have such representatives, such "heroes", such lead-

ers. Degenerate and rotten like German monopoly capitalism, degenerate and rotten like the fascist dictatorship, wading through blood and mud like the ruling class of Germany—these are the representatives of this “system”. A pimp like Horst Wessel was made a national hero and they are all worthy of him.

June 30 revealed the depth of the crisis from which the fascist dictatorship is suffering, and June 30 is the beginning of the end for the fascist dictatorship in its national-socialist form. The economic, social, domestic and foreign political difficulties came to a head on June 30, but at the same time June 30 represents a desperate attempt on the part of German monopolist capitalism to save its fascist dictatorship and to reform its open terrorist dictatorship on a new basis.

The State consists of detachments of armed men with such attributes as prisons, we were taught by Engels. On June 30 the State of Hitler's Third Reich appeared on the scene in all its naked brutality. Martial law, that is to say, the Reichswehr, the police, and picked bodies of the black-uniformed Special Guards were let loose against the Brown Storm Troops. Leaders of the Storm Troops were executed, others thrown into prison, the headquarters of the Storm Troops were occupied, the members of the Storm Troops sent “on holiday”, forbidden to wear their uniforms and—although it sounds like a bloody and grotesque joke—forbidden to wear their “dirks of honor” until further notice. The Storm Troops are to be cleaned up, and tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands of “old and new fighters for national-socialism” are to be thrown out. The basic force of Hitler's Third Reich is now being bombarded with mud.

Thus a contradiction of the Third Reich, of the fascist dictatorship was not solved, but reproduced on a higher stage. The contradiction was that German monopolist capitalism had forged for itself a weapon for erecting the fascist dictatorship, in the shape of the National-Socialist Party, that through this party German monopolist capitalism appealed to the broad masses of the petty-bourgeoisie, the peasants, the plebian and the lumpen-proletarian elements in order to set up its own terrorist dictatorship against the proletariat. The contradiction was that fascism in Germany succeeded as in no other country in creating for itself a broad petty-bourgeois, peasant, plebian, lumpen-proletarian basis in order, when once in power, to carry out the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, the most chauvinist and the most imperialist elements of German finance capital. The petty-bourgeois elements in the rural areas and in the towns, and in particular the most active elements in the Brown Storm Troops and in the fascist factory organizations, will

now develop into an anti-fascist force, thanks to their dissatisfaction and indignation, a force which we can win.

Once in power, the Hitler government carried out the dictatorship of monopolist capitalism, and for that very reason it inevitably came into conflict with its own mass basis. This was all the more inevitable because the fascist dictatorship did not succeed and could not succeed in penetrating into the nucleus of the German working class. Our proud and heroic German working class, led by its Communist Party, stood like a rock of granite amidst the storms of the fascist dictatorship. All the attacks of fascism broke ineffectively against this rock of granite. And because the fascist dictatorship still further intensified the crisis of German capitalism, because it worsened not only the situation of the proletariat, but also the situation of all other sections of the toiling masses, because it is leading the country into social, internal and foreign political catastrophe, it is steadily losing its peasant and petty-bourgeois mass basis also. The original enthusiasm of these sections quickly turned into an attitude of critical waiting, and this in its turn is now developing into bitter indignation.

The crisis which came to a head on June 30 was only the counterpart of the advance of the revolutionary working class which is already beginning to draw over the indignant masses of the petty-bourgeoisie in the towns and the peasant masses in the rural areas to its side.

The Brown Storm Troops were a praetorian army in the service of finance capital. After the accession of Hitler to power hundreds and hundreds of thousands of new recruits streamed into the ranks of the Storm Troops, which soon numbered from 2,500,000 to 3,000,000 men. In its civil war against the proletariat and in its preparations for imperialist war, the monopolist bourgeoisie was compelled to appeal to the broadest possible masses. Together with these millions, however, went also the disappointment, the dissatisfaction, the indignation and the rebellion of the petty-bourgeois masses, the plebian sections and even certain backward elements of the proletariat into the ranks of the Storm Troops. Roehm, Ernst, Heines and the other bandit leaders of the Storm Troops dreamt of the overthrow of Hitler and the erection of a State under the control of the Storm Troops. They endeavored to make use of the dissatisfaction of the masses—in a distorted form—for their own ends. They naturally were unable to understand that in the period of monopolist capitalism the petty-bourgeois, plebian and lumpen-proletarian elements, to whose social pressure they were subjected despite their own adventurous banditry, were between the upper and nether millstones of modern society, between the bourgeoisie and the pro-

letariat, and therefore quite unable to play an independent role.

The monopolist bourgeoisie has crushed the rebellion of the petty-bourgeois sections insofar as it expressed itself at the head of the Storm Troops. It crushed the rebellion with blood and iron with the assistance of the Reichswehr, the police and the black-uniformed Special Guards, and it was able to do so because the proletariat had not yet succeeded by its mass struggle in winning the leadership of these sections. In this operation Hitler, Goering and Goebbels were only the lackeys of German finance capital. They were the cloak which hid the naked bloody and revolting features of German finance capital and Junkerdom.

Hitler was in Neudeck and humbly received the orders of Oldenburg von Januschau and the East Elbian Junkers. From Neudeck he went to Krupp in Essen and received from him equally humbly the orders of heavy industry and the National Estate of German Industry. From Neudeck and Essen he then went to Munich. The orders received in Neudeck and Essen were then promptly carried out in Berlin and Munich.

The 30th of June in Germany means that the fascist dictatorship of monopolist capitalism has definitely repulsed its petty-bourgeois mass basis, or rather the remnants of that mass basis, because it was no longer possible to retain it. Large-scale industry, the Junkers, the Reichswehr generals, the high officials, etc., left this dirty work to Hitler, Goebbels, Goering and Himmler. Monopolist capitalism and the Junkers are cynical enough to "permit" their lackeys to carry out this dirty and bloody work as though it were carried out both against a "second revolution" and against the "reaction" simultaneously. They permitted Goebbels and Goering to organize a new provocation on the lines of the Reichstag fire, to talk of a conspiracy between Roehm and von Schleicher, and to make mysterious hints at "conspiracy with a foreign power". As chivalrous gentlemen they permitted the murderers to slaughter both von Schleicher and his wife and to place von Papen under police surveillance. All this belongs to the Hitler-Goebbels swindle, just as much as the exposure of the whole rottenness of the fascist leadership by Hitler himself. Large-scale industry, the Junkers and their Reichswehr generals, and the high officials will probably permit Hitler to continue his dirty and bloody work for a few weeks or months more, to disperse the Brown Storm Troops, to begin the capitalist offensive again with renewed energy, to place the bankruptcy of the State—with all its consequences—on the shoulders of national-socialism, and perhaps even to carry out inflation. But then they will get rid of Hitler, Goebbels and Goering and present themselves as the "Saviors of the Nation".

In this sense the 30th of June represents an attempt on the part of the monopolist bourgeoisie and the Junkers to reorganize their fascist dictatorship on a new if narrower basis. That is the plan of German monopoly capitalism.

With the assistance of General Blomberg and his Reichswehr, Hitler, Goering, Goebbels and Himmler will launch a new wave of terror against the working masses, because they are well aware that the only force which can defeat this plan to reorganize the fascist dictatorship is the independent class action of the proletariat, which today has more favorable conditions than ever before for winning the masses of the working petty bourgeoisie as allies in its anti-fascist struggle. Despite this new wave of terror, the German proletariat, under the leadership of its heroic Communist Party, will develop its mass action and its anti-fascist struggle and smash the plan of the German fascist bourgeoisie.

The German proletariat is faced with a big and serious danger in this struggle. Social-democracy feels that its chance is coming again. The *Deutsche Freiheit* already announces that a military dictatorship would represent a progressive step as compared with the Hitler dictatorship. In the theoretical organ of the Social-Democratic Party Central Committee in Prague, *Zeitschrift fuer Sozialismus*, Victor Schiff openly defends reformism and the coalition policy. He writes:

"We are supposed to have been too little Marxists? Were we not perhaps too Marxist? Did we not perhaps consider the industrial workers too much to the exclusion of other sections of the population, and did not our acknowledgment of the class struggle, an idea which can appeal only to the urban proletariat, do us more harm than good?"

And he continues:

"We must not permit ourselves to turn away possible allies in our struggle, allies who are perhaps those who are preparing the way for us and who at the moment have even a greater possibility of action than we have. It would be wrong to go into any details at the moment."

This is the program of the new coalition policy, that is the program of the lackeys of the Reichswehr generals, of the Special Guards and the Bishops. And the Central Committee of the Prague bankrupts, the men who voted for Hindenburg, the men who went down on their knees before Hitler and von Papen, now dare to pretend that the mud and blood, the shame and corruption which at present prevail in Germany have anything to do with Bolshevism. Once again they offer the Weimar Republic to the German working

class as the ideal to be aimed at—the Weimer Republic which offered the basis for the development of fascism. In order to prevent their new class treachery, we must forge unity of action of the fighting proletariat for the overthrow of the fascist dictatorship, no matter in what form it may appear, and keep this aim before us in all our anti-fascist struggles, in all strikes, in the preparation of political mass strikes, in the carrying out of anti-fascist mass actions, and also in the struggle to win the deceived and betrayed members of the Brown Storm Troops, the national-socialist proletarians, the social-democratic, Christian and trade union workers.

June 30 in Germany opens up a new stage of the struggle for Socialism, for Soviet Power, for a Soviet Germany!